2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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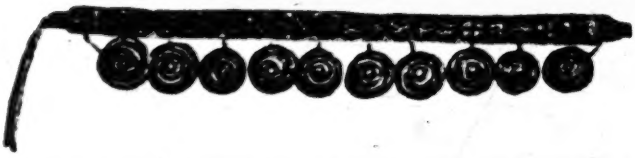

ELM BAST GARMENT AND LEATHER BELT ORNAMENTED WITH BRASS RINGS (WOMEN'S CLOTHING)
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P. 56(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

or dried grass was stuffed in them for the sake of warmth. For walking over snow they used shoes made of wood and thongs of skins.

The old women and widows wore hoods. These had a hole left at the back of the head for ventilation, and their aprons were nicely ornamented with patterns. The women were very proud of their fancy needlework, the patterns of which were tastefully worked in. The materials were Japanese stuffs and coloured cottons and threads. The groundwork was the ordinary native elm-bark cloth. All patterns were worked from memory, and some of the women and girls were very expert at this kind of work.

Before elm bark is stripped from the trees, the dryads or spirits are always worshipped and appeased. The following story told me by an Ainu will explain why this is so.

"It is good to take the bark of elms and make clothing of them. There is no sin in skinning the tree; but mark, the elm harbours many—very many—demons. It is for this reason that it is sometimes called "very wicked elm tree." And it is particularly called by this name if it has caused an accident. Now, once upon a time some people went to get elm fibre. They journeyed far into the mountains, searching for a good tree. At last they came to a place where there stood a very fine one, leaning over a precipice.

"The bark was of very good quality. The people came up to it—to this very king of elms—and commenced to strip the bark off. They cut it round near the roots and pulled at it till all at once it slipped off the trunk and in the twinkling of an eye peeled itself right up to the very top. The people held on fast, for, alas, it all happened so suddenly that they had no time to let go. Retaining their hold for dear life with both hands, all of them were in a moment swung over the deep precipice and seen dangling over the valley. There they swung, miserable creatures, to and fro, to and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 fro, till their poor hands became so tired and their heads so giddy with the oscillations that they were obliged to let go, poor unfortunates, and fell down into the depths below, where they were killed outright. It is therefore now well known that elm trees are peopled by demons."

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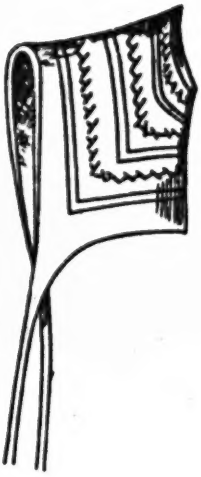
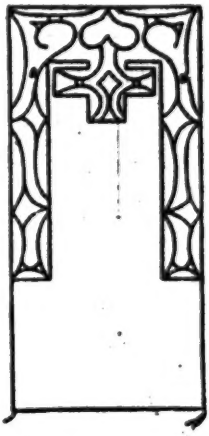
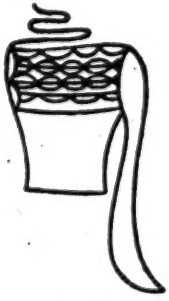


A HOOD



AN APRON



LEGGINGS

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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WEAVING CLOTH AND DOING EMBROIDERY

[P. 74]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

their enchantments it was seen that he felt the influence of their spells so that he drew together much rubbish and covered himself up with a great cloud of dust.*

"It was now the time of sunset. It was growing dark and the ceremonial instruments were set in order.*†

"The people then made a lot of tiny fires of fir branches about the floor. The drum sounded loud. The fires were put out. Then the three shamans performed in earnest. The demon also performed in like manner. He put much rubbish over his body and, taking some old torn shoes, held them before him, clapping them together. As the shamans performed, the gods were heard to come flocking over the top of the house. Their coming sounded like the wind blowing. Then was heard a whistling, as of an arrow from the gods as it came in through the smoke hole towards the demon.†

"Whilst the people were looking at him, the demon clapped before his body with the tattered shoes, and fended the arrow off. That god-sent arrow came against him, but he warded it off. The people saw the god-sent arrow sticking in the tattered shoes. *'Iha-ha-ha-ha-ha!'* roared the demon. 'They have shot the old shoes. *Iha-ha-ha-ha-ha!*' He laughed exceedingly much.

*As the séance proceeds, the shamans intimate to the people what they themselves see; or perhaps I should say, what they wish them to see. The people being now in a state of great expectancy, have become hypnotized and see just as is suggested by the shamans, who now hold them spell-bound. The devil is certainly present, for they can see him with their own eyes, and nothing can persuade them otherwise.

**The ceremonial paraphernalia consisted of a drum, a drumstick, a small cap, a wooden wand, some animal and bird skulls, and some fetish shavings.

†The people were in such a completely subconscious state of mind that they would see or hear anything the shamans told them to. These shamans are tremendous spiritists and I have had a world of bother with them at times.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

3 "ri" from Oshamambe. The host, in whose house the bear feast was to be celebrated, met us with friendly greetings. The people all wore their best clothes which, indeed, when the unclean habits of the Ainos are considered, is not saying much. On festive occasions they frequently wear fine old Japanese garments. It is a comic picture to see a worthy old Aino in a long silk gown, richly decorated with embroidery, which may have served years before in the wardrobe of a Japanese singing or dancing girl, now indeed, with its faded colors and spots of dirt, showing but little of its original beauty. The older men wear a peculiar head-dress (Fig. 87) named *shaba umpe*, a kind of crown, worn only on

Fig. 87.
CEREMONIAL BARK HEAD-DRESS.

great occasions. This is plaited of the bark of a wild vine and adorned with spiral shavings, bear's claws, vine tendrils, etc. Its dark color is due to the smoke, which fills every Aino hut at all times of day and year, and which, apart from the different odors and insects, makes a sojourn within very unpleasant. The women, also, among whom there was not a pretty face, far less a beautiful one, had put on their best, including necklaces and strings of beads. Some had silk dresses and one had a velvet head-cloth, with which the hair was bound over the forehead. The entire company, consisting of about thirty persons, was already assembled. After looking about, meeting the principal personages, and visiting the caged bear, we entered the hut, where the feast began with a solemn offering of saké.

The house was cleaner and more orderly than any I have seen in the vicinity. The household treasures, principally old swords, sacred objects, ornaments, and drinking cups, were displayed along the north side. In the northeast corner, which is sacred to the house-god, new inao were stuck upon the wall.

The inao are sticks three-quarters of a metre in length, with spiral shavings attached (Fig. 86).

The kind of wood of which these are made differs in different localities. In the country from Mori to Oshamambe a kind of corneliau

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126 [245]

Carrying bag.—Similar to 150676, but larger, made of the rush *Scirpus*, with brown parts of dyed bark, the ends of ohiyo cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150684

Wooden dish.—Octagonal in shape, about 12 inches wide by 2½ inches deep inside, cut out of a single block of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150685

Wooden bowl.—Circular, excavated from a block of wood, about 10 inches in diameter by 3 inches deep. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150686

Cloth mitts.—Mittens made of Japanese cotton cloth. They cover the wrist and back of the hands only. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. [291] 150688

Ceremonial head dress.—A band of dyed bark, braided, about 2 inches wide, to put on the head. Around the outside a band of white, curled shavings pass, with the free ends behind. In front a rude wooden figure, perhaps representing the head of a bear. Squares of purple cloth hang down all around the lower edge. Used by the men when dancing. (See Fig. 87.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. [292] 150687

Apron.—Made of ohiyo cloth and Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with light-blue cotton yarn. Worn by the women. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150689

Inao.—A whittled stick made of willow wood with long, curled shavings hanging down from near the upper end. The lower end sharpened to stick in the ashes of the fire-place or in the ground. Rather more than half way up a few shavings curling upwards on one side. Length, 30 inches. Inao represents the gods, to which prayers are offered. They are found in every house in the corner sacred to the house god, and in the fire-place where the fire god is worshipped. (See Fig. 86.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. [778] 150690

Inao.—A whittled willow stick with pendant shavings, like 150690, but smaller, and stick plain below with short, curled shavings at the top. Length, 17 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150691

Inao.—A willow stick with pendant shavings, similar to 150690 and 150691, and used for the same purposes. Length, 30 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150692

Broiling sticks.—Stuck in the ashes of the fire-place with fish spitted upon them for broiling. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. [252] 150693

Tobacco box and stick.—The box has a lid held in place by the cord which passes through holes down both sides and across the bottom, ending above in a knot at the back of the stick. The stick is thrust in the girdle when traveling. Box and stick carved in native designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. [276] 150694

Moustache sticks.—Carved flat sticks of wood, plain or lacquered, used to raise the moustache when drinking saké, and for throwing drops of saké as libations to the gods. The lacquered sticks are undoubtedly old. They are covered with Ainu designs, but the lacquering is probably Japanese work. Length, about 13 inches. (See Fig. 77.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. [413] 150695–150699

Parts of an Ainu loom.—The essential parts of a loom used for weaving ohiyo-bark cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150700

Shell for lamp.—A shell of the *Pecten* used to hold oil and a small wick, to serve as a lamp. The shell is supported on the end of a three-forked stick set up in the fire-place. The wick is the pith of a plant, sometimes a bit of twisted bark fiber. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. [354] 150701

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694, but much larger. Probably quite an old box. Wires for cleaning the pipe attached to the cord. (See Fig. 79). Ainos of Yezo, 1888. [276] 150702

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150703

Red lacquer cup.—Used for saké. Made by the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150704

Large knife and case.—The knife was obtained from the Japanese. The wooden case is of native workmanship, made in two pieces, bound together with bark, the outside elaborately carved. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. [411 415] 150705

Bead necklace and copper ornament.—Worn by women. The beads are of glass, blue and white, strung on a cord. The thin copper plate bears a stamped or hammered figure of a person seated on some mythic animal, with leaves of palms [301]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

to Benry, and asked him to sit to me for his portrait. At first he was very reluctant, but the prospect of receiving a present finally overcame his scruples—for he was indeed civilised in

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BENRY, THE AINU CHIEF OF PIRATORI.

this respect, and understood the worth of his version of the almighty dollar to perfection—and, consenting to be sketched, he sat—at the outset with as much courage as docility. He produced a crown of shavings and seaweed, which he solemnly

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4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

placed on his head, whilst his better-half helped him on with his regal *imi* (garments), as well as a large sword, which also made part of his regal insignia. The crown had in front a small bear's head roughly carved in wood, and the clothes were very gaudy. They were made of strips of blue, white, and red cloth sewn together. The materials used were Japanese, but they were cut and arranged in a thoroughly Ainu pattern. Though he began well, Benry was not a good sitter, and, like most animals, he did not like to be stared at. He felt the weight of a look, as it were, and it made him uncomfortable. Not many minutes had elapsed before he became openly impatient; he even showed his temper by flinging away his crown and his wooden sword. On the other hand, sketching in Benry's house was no easy matter for me. With all the respect due to the chief of Piratori, I am bound to say that his house was not a model of cleanliness. Those of his hairy brothers and subjects were no better than his, and many were a great deal worse. Fleas and other insects were so numerous that in a few minutes I was literally covered with them, each one of them having a peaceful and hearty meal at my expense, while I, for the sake of art, had to go on with my sketch and leave them undisturbed. Notwithstanding all this Benry was immortalised twice that day, and his maid, housekeeper, or wife —three words which have the same meaning to the Ainu— was also handed down to posterity while in the act of spinning the inner fibre of the *Ulmus campestris* bark, destined to form a new garment for her lord, master, and husband.

When I went out to sketch the houses and storehouses in the village Benry and another man followed me everywhere; but neither he nor his fellow-shadow seemed to take any interest in the sketching. In Japan, Corea, and China I have often been surrounded by hundreds of people attentively watching every stroke of the brush, and I have always found them clever and quick in making out the meaning of each line or brush-mark. I can assert, without fear of being contradicted, that the majority of Japanese, Coreans, and Chinese are even quicker than Europeans in that respect, owing to the fact that lines constitute for them the study of a lifetime. Chinese characters, which are nothing but a deep study of lines, are adopted by the three above-mentioned nations, and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

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AN AINU FESTIVAL.

CHAPTER IV.

An Ainu Festival.

529 THE Ainu have few public performances, and no special time of the year is fixed for them. As it so happened, a festival—a "Iyomanrei"—took place while I was at Piratori.

529 123 576 The performance was held in a large hut belonging to the heir apparent to the chieftainship of Piratori. I went to the hut and asked whether I could attend the performance. The host, in answer, came to meet me at the door, and, taking me by the hand, led me in. I was shown where to sit, on the southern side of the hut, the place of honour for strangers, and my host sat in front of me and saluted me in Ainu fashion.

Benry and several old men were squatting on the floor, Benry in the middle, and he was again gorgeous in his regal [292] clothes. Some of the others, who wore a crown like Benry's, were chiefs of the neighbouring villages, who had come up for the grand occasion.

One by one all the men present rose and came to stroke their hair and beard before me, and I returned the compliment as well as I could in Ainu fashion. The hut was gradually

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I was a friend of the Ainu, and must join them in the drinking.

My attention was suddenly drawn to three old chiefs, who, half drunk, stood in front of the small east window. They dipped their moustache-lifters in their bowls, waving them towards the sun as a salutation to the "Chop Kamui," the "Great Sun." There was no religious character attached to this libation offered to the sun, no more than when we take off our hats passing a respected friend in the street. It is a mere sign of respect, not of worship. Besides, it must be clearly understood that no "offerings" of wine are ever made by the Ainu to the "Great Sun," and that the "libations" offered are invariably consumed by the offerer.

I managed to get several sketches of the assembly, and every moment I expected to get into trouble again; but this time they took it most kindly.

The hut became very stuffy, owing to the large number of persons and the smoke. There were nearly two hundred people in it, packed closely together, and there was nothing in the show to interest one—certainly not the disgusting sight of this drunkenness, which, moreover, became monotonous as well as disgusting.

I stroked my hair and beard—the latter only figuratively—in sign of salute, to the host, Benry, and the other drowsy chiefs, and, carefully avoiding pushing or treading on any member of the unsteady crowd, I made my exit.

Oh, what a treat it was to breathe fresh air again!

Outside the hut the pretty *menokos* (girls) of Piratori were having a lot of fun all to themselves. They were all dressed in long yellowish gowns, with rough white and red ornamentations on a patch of blue cloth, on their backs; and each girl took a very active part in a game, or a kind of savage dance, called Tapkara. They all ranged themselves in a circle, and a child or two was sometimes placed in the centre. The game consisted in collectively hopping an indefinite number of times, calling out either the name, or the accompanying sound, of some of their everyday occupations, and clapping the hands so as to keep time. For instance, one sound was "Ouye, ouye" ("Fire, fire"), and they all blew as when making a fire, and hopped till they were nearly senseless.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Then the next was "R-r-r, r-r-r, r-r-r," and with this they imitated the pulling of a rope.

Then "Pirrero, pirrero; pirrero, pirrero," was the sound accompanying the action of rowing, imitating the squeaking of the paddle produced by the friction on the canoe.

The movement of the arms changed according to the sounds uttered, but the hopping was kept up continuously. The game reminded me much of our Sir Roger de Coverley, in a more barbarous form, but certainly not less pretty than our old country dance.

AINU WOMEN DANCING, PIRATORI.

Late in the afternoon all the men came out of the hut, and by a winding path I was taken to the valley along the river, at the foot of the cliff on which Piratori is built. Benry and all the other chiefs remained on the cliff. Bareback races formed the next and last event in the programme, and the chiefs were to witness them from their "high point of view."

There was great excitement as to who should ride the ponies. The Ainu are fond of sports, and I noticed that ultimately they were sharp enough to select their jockeys from among the lightest men. The winner of each race had a good

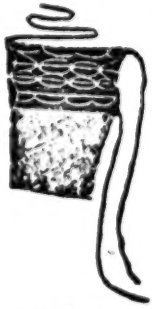
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

atsis, but never any, simple or elaborate, either on the back or front.

I have often seen women working patiently hour after hour while sitting on the tiny door of their storehouses; and the result of their labour would be half an inch of coarse stitching, which for them was a great work of art. Most Ainu now possess needles of Japanese manufacture, but in former days they had only bone needles, and instead of fine well-dyed Japanese thread were obliged to be content with the fibre of the elm tree dyed black. The ornamentations on the *atsis* of Ainu who have no Japanese needles are necessarily a great deal coarser and simpler than those which are done with steel needles and cotton threads. The essential characteristics are the same in both. In sewing together skins for winter garments fish-bone needles are often used up to this day.

These embroidered clothes, when new, are only worn on grand occasions, as at a bear festival, or when paying a visit to a neighbouring village. A few rags constitute the usual every-day costume, and no difference is made between the in-door and the out-of-door clothing. In fact, most Ainu sleep in their clothes, such as they are.

One article of dress which is worn by all alike, young and old, male or female, is the *hoshi*, or leggings. Like their gowns, these are sometimes made of the inner fibre of the elm-tree bark and sometimes of rushes and reeds plaited as in the ordinary rush matting. When of elm-tree bark, they are often embroidered in the upper part, as can be seen in the illustration. They are fastened just under the knee by means of the two upper strings, then wrapped tightly round the leg and bound round the ankle with the lower and longer ribbon. The Ainu go barefooted in the summer, but during the winter months, when the cold is too severe for this, they cover their feet with mocassins and long boots made of salmon-skin, and often of deer-skin. When the Ainu goes for a long journey or a hunt, during which he has to traverse rough ground, he generally protects his skin boots—the soles of which would



THE "HOSHI."

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 [122] on until about 1938 when Munro sent him the bulk of his manuscript. Although it was arranged in book form, it was not complete nor fully prepared for publication, and none of the subjects mentioned above was included. Correspondence continued until it was broken off abruptly by Japan's entry into the war in 1941. After the war I received information from the British Consulate that Munro had died in April 1942, and that his wife's address could not be traced.

I know from numerous references to her in Munro's letters that his wife had been a great support to him, not only in looking after his health but also in his work. An elder had mentioned to Munro ● 292 that women could exercise magical power by means of a secret girdle (*upshoro kut*), which they wore under their clothes. Because 114 of the confidence the Ainu women felt in Mrs Munro, he was able 189 to follow this subject up, and discovered that these girdles played an important part in Ainu social organization. Mrs Munro was able to persuade Ainu women to weave exact copies of five of them, and these have been given to the British Museum. It was in 1934 [611] that a number of articles by Munro appeared in the *Japanese* [582] *Advertiser* on Ainu customs, in which he mentioned the matrilineal descent of the secret girdles, their magical power and their use in regulating exogamy.

114 Munro's object in writing a book on the Ainu was not only to give an account of his careful observations of the people and their customs, but also to demonstrate to the world at large, and the Japanese in particular, that the Ainu had a culture of their own which was worthy of consideration, and that they were not a low grade people believing only in absurd superstitions. He emphasized this view, and when recording beliefs or ritual that might appear irrational, he took pains to compare them with European folk customs. In fact, he intended the book to be 'A Plea for Toleration', as one of his unpublished articles was entitled. To readers of this book such a plea should be unnecessary, and the parallels have been omitted.

114 115 Munro's investigation was carried out at Nibutani in the Saru River valley in south Hokkaido, but he worked with informants from other districts, and made several visits to Kitami in the north. He intended to go to Sakhalin in order to make investigations there, but was never able to do so. His chief informants were elderly men and women still versed in Ainu lore. But for Munro's efforts, much

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

which houses are built, and he is regarded as their owner and protector. His *ramat* has a resort in a cluster of *inau* called the soul *susa* (*ram susa*) just outside the sacred window.

We now come to the most trusted and revered *kamui* in the Ainu pantheon, Kamui Fuchi, Supreme Ancestress[1] and ruler of all departed spirits, whose *ramat* is manifested in the sacred fire of the hearth. She is also known as Abe Kamui, deity of fire, and shares with Shiramba Kamui the title of Owner of the World (Shiri-koro Kamui). Her supreme importance is seen in the fact that no *kamui* is approached for aid without preliminary prayer to her. In prayer or 'sacred talk' (*innono-itak*) she is addressed as Iresu Kamui—She Who Rears the Ainu. When a child dies before it is weaned its *ramat* is kept by Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn. Most elderly Ainu still believe that generation is not caused by the act of sexual intercourse but that it is due to the return of a soul from the Underworld under proper auspices.

The hearth is the entrance to the abode of the dead. It is commonly believed that nothing must be allowed to contaminate it, and that no evil deed must be contemplated in Kamui Fuchi's presence. When the hearth fire is covered with ashes at night—it is never extinguished—Kamui Fuchi is supposed to retire to rest. She never leaves the hearth, but orders other *kamui* to deputize for her outside. When, as in childbirth, there is impurity within the house a second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and Uari Kamui, as substitute for Kamui Fuchi, takes charge there.

It was Kamui Fuchi who gave the Ainu women instructions to make the sacred girdles (see Chapter XII).

There are various accounts of her origin. According to one she descended from the heavens and was accompanied by Kanna Kamui, the god of thunder and lightning, in his guise of a fiery serpent. This god is represented by Kinashut Kamui, with whom Kamui Fuchi is closely connected in ritual. According to another

[1] *Ekashi*, *Fuchi*: There is some ambiguity in the translation of these two words. The former usually means elder, and implies respect. It is translated as such in this book when it applies to a living man, but when applied to a deceased person or to a *kamui* Munro considers it to mean ancestor and to imply ancestor worship. In the same way, *Fuchi* means old woman or grandmother. As Kamui Fuchi is regarded as the ancestress by all Ainu women, Munro refers to her frequently as 'Supreme Ancestress'. Mr Watanabe criticizes Munro's use of *ekashi* and *fuchi* as ancestor and ancestress.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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PLATE I. The author with an elder wearing Japanese ceremonial robe given for services rendered early in this century.

[p. 30, (A)]

Figs. 1 and 2. Man making ritual salutation (*ongami*).

Figs. 3 and 4. Woman performs ritual salutation (*reimik*).

Note *ekashi* wears ceremonial headband and tunic.

PLATE XV. RITUAL SALUTATION.

[p. 30, (0)]

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7:Munro & Selligman D.E-4, 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 527 782 [411] beverage may be made surreptitiously for the ancestral spirits. The ceremonial dress with patterns sewn on (*kapara amip*) should have only white patterns during ministrations to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and the ancestors.

[292] To return to the ceremony. The elder who is to minister to Chisei-koro Kamui is led to his corner, and he who is to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui to the top of the hearth (8). Meanwhile the householder receives a cup of beer from the housewife, sprinkles a few drops with the libation wand on each of the backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes of the hearth at (11) on the plan, and then a few more on the fire itself. He then makes salutation and the male guests follow suit. Turning the cup so that the point of the libation wand, with its sign of the tongue, is directed towards the [776] fire, he prays[1] to Kamui Fuchi by her titles of Iresu Kamui and in some places Moshiri-koro. While so doing he holds the cup in his left hand and strokes it with his right, an act of salutation. He tells her that the sacred beer has been prepared by her favour for service to all the gods to whom it is about to be offered. He asks her to inspire the libation wand as her messenger so that, should the prayers be unsuitably worded, the meaning will become clear to the good *kamui*. She is also besought to be favourable to the household, to rear up good children and grant prosperity.

During this prayer the other two elders attend to their duties. The housewife takes a cup of beer to the elder near the north-east corner (4), also with a libation wand on the rim. With this he gives a few drops to the head of the effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui and sometimes a few to the adjacent floor, and addresses him in adulatory terms as representative of Shiramba Kamui, asking protection for the house and all therein. The other elder performs ritual salutation to Kamui Fuchi, receives his cup, tells her briefly that he is about to obey her behest to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui, and then departs on his mission.

With two exceptions the sacred (eastern) window is always used [823] for passing things used in ritual, such as *inau*, beer, or the flesh of [764] sacrificed animals. The east stands for life[2] and the west for death, and until the sun has passed the meridian it would be most im-

[114] [533]

[1] Munro states that he has recorded this and other important prayers and placed them with translations in an appendix; unfortunately this appendix has not been found.—B.Z.S.

[2] An ancient song which I learnt from Rennuikesh, and which he states has been handed down in his family for many generations, tells of the rising sun

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

531
302
142
292
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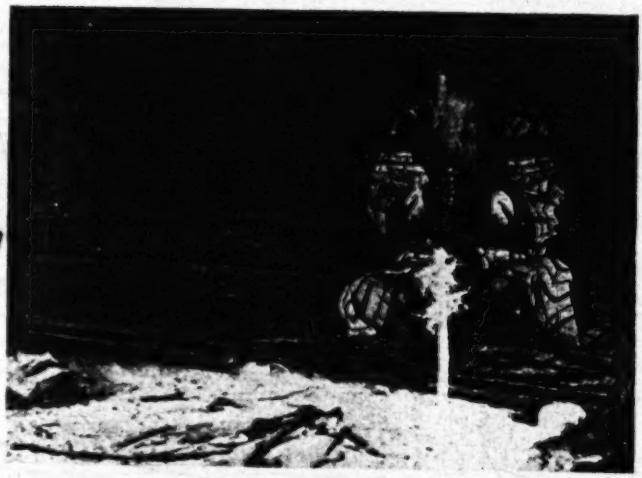
755
516
[352]



[133]

Fig. 1. The *ekashi* makes a preliminary prayer to Kamui Fuchi.
Fig. 2. At the river bank, the *ekashi* calls on the good *kamui* of the home to fight against the evil *kamui*.
Fig. 3. The *ekashi* invoking Mintushi Kamui (a water spirit).

PLATE XVII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (A)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
782
755
516
[346]

Fig. 1. *Ekashi* prays to Mintara-koro Kamui before exorcism rites.

[142]
[302]
[292]
[531]

Fig. 2. *Ekashi* invokes Ru-koro Kamui (*kamui* of the privy) before exorcism rites.

PLATE XIX. EXORCISM RITES.

[p 78 (c)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

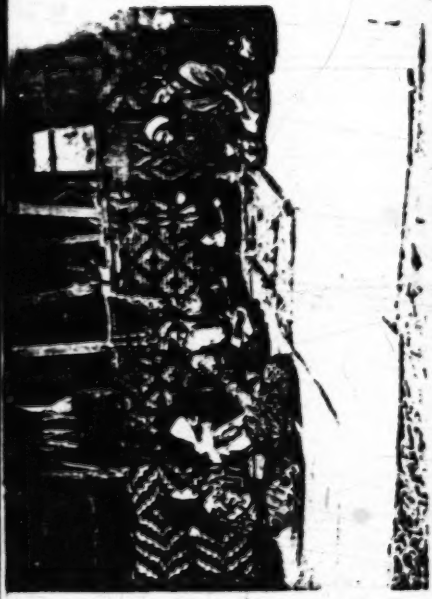


Fig. 1. An *inu* woman diagnoses the spirit responsible for patient's trouble. Fig. 2. *Inu* woman in a trance state. Fig. 3. *Ekashi* treats a patient possessed by an evil snake with the image of Kinashuti Kamui at the *nusa* set up for him. Fig. 4. *Ekashi* treats patient possessed by a hornet.

PLATE XXI. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (E)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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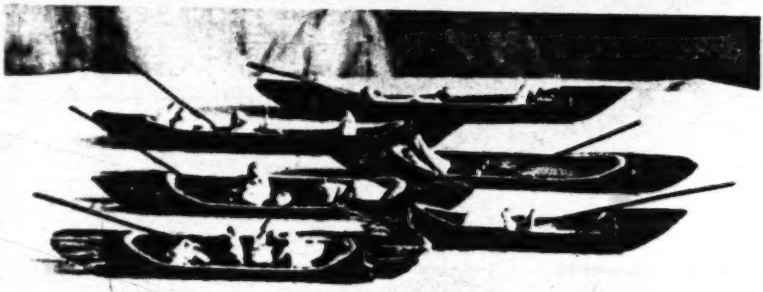

755
[501]

Fig. 1. [illegible]tment for phthisis at tree.
Fig. 2. Boats to be floated down-stream, into which the patient has spat.
Fig. 3. Straw boat loaded with provisions, to induce Pakoro Kamui to depart.

PLATE XXIII. EXORCISM RITES: TREATMENT FOR PHTHISIS.

[p. 78 (G)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

• 292
789

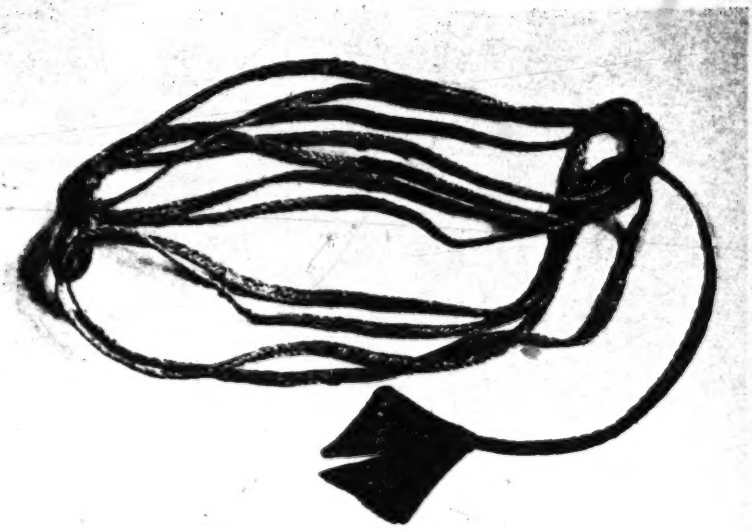

Fig. 1. *U'pshoro Kut* of Kim-un-Kamui.

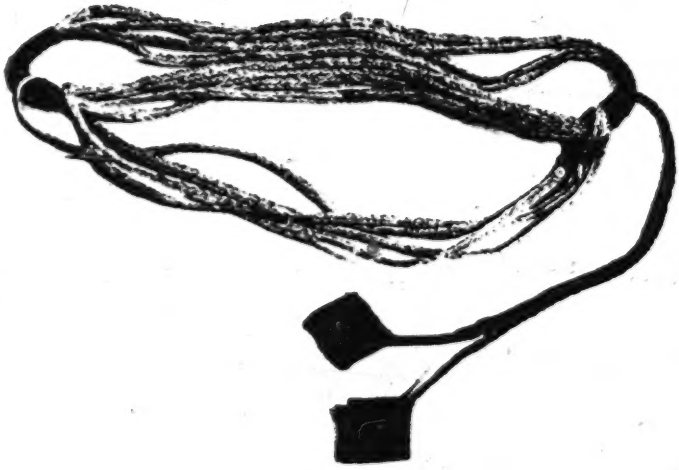

Fig. 2. *U'pshoro Kut*, traced to Rep-un-Kamui.

PLATE XXVIII. SECRET GIRDLES.

[p 78, (L)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

292 ●
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302
142
531
115

Fig. 1. Tumashnuri Ekashi, a teacher who spent nearly half his life in Sakhalin.

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302
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115

Fig. 2. Jensuke, my young Ainu assistant.

PLATE XXXII. MORE INFORMANTS.

[p. 78, (P)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 527 782 Kamui Moire Mat. He takes the lees in his hand and throws some at the foot of the *inau* fence, some to the north of it and some to the south. The Ekashi now returns to the head of the hearth, coming by the north wall as he went out. He replaces the cup on the tray, makes salutation to Kamui Fuchi and tells her that he has obeyed her behest, and then removes his sword and retires to his place.

While this has been going on the animal heads regarded as spirit protectors have been put on trays and placed near the top of the hearth. The householder gives each two or three drops of lees from the bottom of his cup. It is not merely those which guarded the beer during fermentation that are entitled to this treat, but all others that may be in the house. This libation from Kamui Fuchi's cup is accompanied by a short statement that it is for her, so will she please continue to guard the treasures and other property against evil.

The householder also gives a few drops of beer to the lower end of the hearth, with a brief address to Uari Kamui, and performs the same rite for the Apa-san Kamui. After the appointed elders have performed the main services any guest who chooses may give a libation either to Chisei-koro Kamui or to one of the *kamui* at the *inau* fence. Such spontaneous worship should be short and unostentatious, and should be performed before the special service for the dead. Up to that time the utmost decorum prevails —or ought to. Laughter and jocular remarks are bad form, and I am told that until the spirits of the dead ancestors are properly served the proceedings are serious, even solemn.

In a sense every service to the *kamui* (*Kamui Nomi*) was a service to 'All Souls', and levity would be unseemly while the revered and potent spirits of the Ancestral Host, and of the world around, were awaiting their meed of oblation and praise. Irreverence would slight the *kamui* and invite punishment.

[576] [562] We have seen that the male guests steal into the room in a slow and diffident manner; the women steal in still more quietly and humbly, and take their places shown on the plan. They do not drink their small allowance of beer from cups which have been used in service to the *kamui*, and, with the exception of the Falling Tears ceremony, take no part in religious observance. They should [292] keep silent till the ceremony ends and the festivities begin. They [789] show reverence (*oripak*) by wearing the headdress or a black scarf, and should never attend worship of the *kamui* unless wearing the

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

secret girdle. Intermarriage with Japanese has led to some laxity of observance, but it is said to be still imperative for every true Ainu woman to wear her girdle at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and for men to wear a loin-cloth (*tepa*).

I was told that if beer is not brewed and Japanese *sake* is used in its stead the rites are curtailed and altered. In place of four backward-shaven *inau* one or at most two are set up on the hearth. No drink is taken to Nusa-koro Kamui; the elder merely stands near the head of the hearth and points the libation wand through the sacred window towards the *nusa*. The large ancestral *inau*, and the embodied *inau* with twisted or outspread shavings are not set up. There is no ritual seating (*U-eshopki*) at the sacred window. It seems, however, that in the case of a wedding some exception is made.

Without beer the full ritual salutation (*pase ongami*) is usually omitted, but if it is performed the elder outside the sacred window merely drops the libation from a little distance away, takes a sip, and hands the cup back. Similarly with other *kamui* at the *inau* fence. At the Falling Tears ceremony a few drops are sprinkled on the ground. The dead are told that brewing is 'difficult' and are apologized to, and condoled with, for having to put up with a substitute for their accustomed beer. Most of this was told me by Nisukrekguru though I had heard some of it before. It has been confirmed by several elders but there are slight differences here and there, especially since Ainu culture has degenerated.

We now return to the house warming, which is about to enter its second phase. After the service to Nusa-koro Kamui comes the formal placing of the male guests. This is important at all celebrations, for the gods are present and their worshippers must be arranged in proper order. Such arrangement is called *U-eshopki*, mutual seating. The guests sit in two rows facing each other, each sitting with crossed legs[1] on a mat. There is some precedence—guests of higher consideration such as the officiating elders being nearer the host. This arrangement, from the sacred window to the hearth, is shown in the plan, text fig. 4 at (2), and is quite different

[1] This mode of sitting is like that of the Japanese when sitting at ease. The Ainu did not adopt the kneeling posture of Japanese politeness and ceremony till recent times, and use it but little except in service to certain *kamui*. Ainu women squat sitting on the heels when out of doors, and on the floor with knees drawn up, to near the chin in the case of old women. Men occasionally squat outside, but it is correct to sit cross-legged indoors.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

DEATH AND BURIAL

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[782]
[537]
[152]
[533]

he mingles regret with reassurance. He then bows low and weeps with the rest of the company.

All who salute the head of the corpse weep, most of them copiously. All male adults are invited to make this last farewell and it is thought improper not to weep, even for a former enemy. Women shed tears from beginning to end of the proceedings, and all join in a dirge which consists in a repetition of *o-yoyopota*, 'Oh, how dreadful'. Descriptive phrases may occasionally be introduced, but the elders dislike elaboration. Attitudes of dejection are called *uko-noyoise*, 'altogether wilted'. The effect of many voices chanting in a natural harmony is very beautiful.

Preparing the Body

[775]

The proper dressing of the body is essential, for not until it is dressed is the soul ready to join the ancestors in *Kamui Kotan*. It is then supposed to forget all earthly events, good or bad, and all anger and discontent disappear unless some unusual grievance is strong enough to remain in memory. Formerly, when an Ainu had been killed by another, his body was dressed in the manner of living Ainu so that he might exact vengeance. Normally, as we shall see, the clothing is reversed so that all memory of the past may be wiped out.

[291]

The body is first washed from head to foot, women only attending to women. A woman's body is prepared for burial by a sister, mother, or mother's sister, or maternal grandmother, who may be assisted by some other respected woman. All women are supposed to keep a spare girdle (*kut*) ready for their own burial, without which the soul of a dead woman dare not meet the ancestral spirits. The old one is taken by a close female relative, or it might be buried in the porch. A new male loincloth is put on a father's corpse by his son and the son's corpse by his father. Failing them a father's brother does this.

[292]
[775]

764
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In respectable families clothing for the dead was formerly made and kept for that purpose. Women made their cloth (*attush*), and for some centuries before the Meiji era, Japanese stuffs, and perhaps some from China, traded through Siberia, were obtained by barter. Clean garments are essential for the journey to join the Ancestral Host. Clothes worn by the deceased inspire fear and caution, and I am told that they are still turned out of the house

[439]

DEATH AND BURIAL

765

wenbe-otta maratto (after-calamity repast). Vessels of water are put ready outside for the mourners to wash their faces and hands. The [515] method of using the ladle for pouring out water is reversed, i.e. it [783] is moved from left to right. On the way back the mourners are purified by brushing, particularly when passing through a narrow valley or ravine where evil spirits might lurk. The mourners are said to be *ikeshui utara* (normally 'indignant' but here 'perturbed'). After washing they go into the house, the near relatives sitting close to where the body had laid.

Once more the visitors perform in turn the ceremony of mutual [576] condolence with renewed weeping. The ceremonial seating extends along the hearth and on to the sacred window. The elder who made [782] the funeral oration now prays to Kamui Fuchi, but without making the usual offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Starting with *'fuo!'* and speaking in a loud voice, he thanks her that all has been done safely and asks for further protection. The usual word for thanks is not mentioned; instead a paraphrase is used, *uepoki iko-ongami*, which may be translated 'bowed down in worship'. The meal, which rests on the hearth before being eaten, is of the usual kind.

Former Customs

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Twenty years before these descriptions were recorded the following funeral customs were observed. The inner coat was turned inside out. The outer, though not always reversed, was put on over the head to which the armhole of a sleeve was often adjusted. [593] Here this custom is remembered as confined to the relationship of husband and wife. After the funeral the surviving spouse turned 765
the inner garment before entering the house, but left the outer one 178
outside to air and put on a fresh one in the same manner. This was 291
clearly a method of disguise and was called *unaina* (mutual hiding). A widow might retain the reversed inner garment for a couple of years; the outer one while indoors for six months. One or two aged Ainu still reverse the inner garment for a week or ten days. When [302] men and women wore their hair to shoulder length, which men seldom do now, it was customary to cut it horizontally at the level of the eyes and ears. Now a slight clipping is occasionally removed. Widows wore for about six months what was known as a weeping [292] cap (*chish konji*), which was simply a strip of black cloth doubled and sewn on one side.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

XII

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

by B. Z. Seligman

THIS CHAPTER is compiled from various sources. In it I have brought together information contained in letters written by Munro to C. G. Seligman and references to social organization scattered in different parts of Munro's original typescript, as well as some notes he wrote on the sacred girdles (*kut*) for a chapter in this book. Notes he made for various articles, both published and unpublished, are also included. I have added information given in the English summaries of articles in the *Japanese Journal of Ethnology* for 1951, and further information from these translated for me by Mr Watanabe, in answer to enquiries.

Early in 1934 Munro wrote saying he had discovered the existence of the women's secret girdles and their importance in the regulation of marriage as well as their magical power.[1] Because of his success in treating serious illness, he gained the confidence of Ainu women, two of whom (Pl. XXVII) overcame their extreme diffidence in mentioning the subject and gave him much valuable information. He found out that every woman wears a belt of

[1] While investigating this subject Munro was obliged to exercise extreme caution, as any misfortune, from a toothache to a fatality, was attributed to infringement of the injunction to secrecy. While he was able to dispose of the former easily, the latter—the death of a child suffering from an incurable malady which he was treating—caused him considerable anxiety, and he was only able to overcome this difficulty with great tact and patience.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

prescribed design and length under her clothing.[1] This is called the *upshoro* (or *upsoro*) *kut*, but in ancient tradition it is referred to as *a-eshimukep*. *A* is an honorific corresponding to the Japanese *O*, and *eshimukep* means 'most hidden thing'. Other names used only by old people are *ishirimauriri* meaning 'sustaining great [or bodily] strength', *raun kut* or *ram kut*, under-girdle or soul or spirit girdle. At first he discovered only three types of *kut*, which were said to indicate three lines of matrilineal descent and were associated respectively with Wakka-ush Kamui, the deity of fresh water, Kim-un Kamui, the bear deity and Rep-un Kamui, the sea deity or grampus. Each type is woven in a particular way, with a definite number of strands and attached tabs, and is made of wild flax (*hai*). Every woman inherits from her mother her type of *kut*; men are supposed to have no knowledge of them and are never allowed to see them; even among themselves women are cautious about talking of them or exposing them. Girls are taught that they must not reveal the secret of their girdle to anyone. At the time of Munro's investigations in the early thirties many young women were no longer capable of making girdles for themselves, and older women had to do it for them when a new one was required. They knew little more than the names of the *kamui* to whom their girdles were dedicated. The *kut* were reputed to have magical powers by means of which women were said to be able to calm a storm, hold back

[1] The following is extracted from a letter dated April 14th, 1934, from Munro: 'There is a special measure for the girdle, as I am informed by two women independently. The girdle, or rather its cord, is measured between the outstretched hands, the cord (*tush*) being held between the end of the thumb and the forefinger. . . . Obviously the span differs in different persons. But there is another source of difference in length. I am told that women of small size measure the difference between the sum of the measured lengths thus obtained and the conventional length for a special deity by a short measure between the shoulder joint and the thumb, while those of large size measure it between the top of the sternum and the thumb. Both these are called *atem* (*at-tem*, half arm's length) though there is a difference of several inches. The length between the outstretched arms is called *shine-tem* or one arm's stretch. They call this now by the Japanese name, one *ken*, which is 6 feet, and would say that a *tush* is so many *ken* and a half. Obviously such measurements are not constant. Moreover . . . the *kut* is strictly private in each family line of matrilineal succession, so increment of difference in length is unavoidable. However, women interrogated separately are quite positive that the length of their own cord has not changed, because the measure was handed down from the sacred ancestral source. Unfortunately, I can find no note as to the age at which girls were first given their girdles, whether a small girdle was given to young girls, and whether the first assumption of the girdle was accompanied by any ceremony.'

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

a tidal wave or a conflagration and repel the *kamui* of smallpox.[1]

No woman may marry a man whose mother has the same type of *kut* as herself. This was confirmed by further investigation, both by Munro himself and later by Mr Ken-ichi Sugiura. (See *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 187.)

Munro discovered five more types, respectively associated with Korokeu Kamui, the wolf; Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui, fox; Kapachiri Kamui, eagle; Moyuk, badger or racoon, and Isepo Kamui, hare, the members of which were said to be protected from the occurrence of hare lip.[2] In one letter Munro mentioned a girdle associated with Kamui Fuchi, and two of the girdles he collected are labelled 'attributed to Kamui Fuchi'. However, as all women believe themselves to be allied to the fire goddess, who gave instructions for the making of the girdles, the possibility of these specimens being associated with theriomorphic *kamui* as well as Kamui Fuchi is not excluded. In prayer to Kamui Fuchi petitioners describe themselves as her grandchildren, and Munro frequently refers to her as 'the Great Ancestress, supreme over the ancestral cult'. She is invoked by elders before any other *kamui* is approached, and her special backward-shaven *inau* are given her on all ceremonial occasions. The hearth is sacred to her and is her resting place in every home. She is revered as a 'weighty' *kamui*—perhaps the most important of all—but it is not clear that she is regarded by men as the ancestress of all Ainu in their ancestral cult.

The wearer of the Rep-un Kamui (grampus) *kut*, a woman of about 85 years old, told Munro that the younger sister of the grampus *kamui* married an Ainu, and she regarded her as an ancestress. It should be noted that all *kamui* associated with the *upshoro-kut* are members of the Ainu pantheon as well as being specific to certain matrilineal kin groups, and all except Kamui Fuchi and Wakka-ush Kamui, the deities of fire and of fresh water,

[1] When Munro's house was burnt down he did not know of the power that women were able to exercise by means of their *kut*, but he noticed that a group of women about fifty yards away stood waving their arms—presumably driving away the fire by means of the power they exercised on account of their *kut*.

[2] Members of the Isepo *kut* lineage are said to be of lower status than the other *kut*. A legend states that a young hunter saw a beautiful maiden weaving a cord in the forest. She was overcome by shame at being seen by a man while performing her secret task. She was obliged to marry him to hide her shame, and she became Isepo Kamui.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

789 are animal deities. As it was only possible for Munro to obtain
776 information from a few women who trusted him and his wife, the
[123] number of *kut* groups existing remains obscure. Nor is there any information indicating whether one deity was associated with more than one group.

Munro was told that Kamui Fuchi instructed A-e-oina Kamui, who in turn taught the Ainu, how to make the *upshoro-kut*, and that she also laid down all the regulations associated with them in the sacred traditions. In other accounts Kamui Fuchi is said to have given instructions to various female *kamui* who assumed animal form. It will be seen below (p. 147) that some of these regulations are not relevant to matrilineal exogamy, though Munro's informants insisted that they were taboos of the *kut*. Some women believed that their girdles were given directly by Kamui Fuchi, others maintained that they proved their descent from a particular animal deity. Two informants stated that no woman should approach the hearth unless she were wearing her
[825] *kut*. No woman should go near the caged sacred bear cub without
[841] it; if she did, the bear would show his disapproval by his hostile
[791] demeanour. The caged bear would also show his disapproval if a
[688] woman in a state of impurity—menstruation—were to come near him. In such cases a *tusu* would be consulted, and if the woman were found guilty she would be punished.

126 With great precautions for secrecy, Munro persuaded his women
123 informants to make five different kinds of *kut* for him. These were
292 woven from bast, which somewhat mitigated the impropriety of
789 the task performed for a man and a foreigner. They were sent to Seligman, and have been deposited in the British Museum (Pl. XXVIII, figs. 1 and 2).

292 When Munro broached the subject with *ekashi*, with whom he
789 was intimate, he was told that although they knew of the existence
[582] of the *kut* they had never seen one, and they affirmed the strictness
[887] of the rule of *kut* exogamy. Old women arrange marriages or investigate the *kut* inheritance of a prospective couple in order that the exogamy ruling should not be transgressed.

114 These facts led Munro to postulate totemism with matrilineal
614 clans. In numerous letters he treated the matter as an hypothesis
174 and related how he was searching for further evidence, both in existing custom and in ancient tradition. However, in his typescript for this book, and in an article he published in *Man*, No.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4, 5 (ca. 1930-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

33: in March 1938, he spoke of matrilineal clans and totemism. This has now been disregarded, as no clear evidence of either clans or totemism has come to light, either from Munro's own material or from the work of other writers.[1] The matrilineal affiliation discovered by Munro applies only to females; it is not recognized by males. In March 1937 I made a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute on the subject.[2] In it I mentioned female matrilineal affiliation, and, misled by Munro's notes, spoke of the Ainu having patrilineal clans, for which he produced no evidence; there are, however, patrilineal lineages. Munro found that some *ekashi* could trace their ancestors in the male line (*ekashi-ikir*) for as many as fifteen generations, while in spite of the importance of *kut* exogamy, women could not name theirs in matrilineal descent (*huchi-ikir*) beyond the uterine great-grandmother.

Huchi-ikir or *shine huchi-ikir* is the matrilineal kin group.
Ekashi-ikir is the patrilineal kin group.
Kemrit, literally blood veins, designates matrilineal relationship.
Shinrit indicates the ancestors in patrilineal ascent.
Iriwak means 'family' relationship.[3]

A childless couple may adopt a child to carry out the ancestral offerings and libations (*Shinurapa*). The adopted child should be of the same *kut* as the adoptive mother, but if no such child is available any child may be adopted and the *kut* must be changed. The change is usually brought about by altering the number of the cords or by shortening them. Munro recorded one adoption of a Japanese girl by an Ainu couple, and she was given the *kut* of the adoptive mother.[4]

That women could only trace descent back to the third generation seemed surprising, considering the importance attached to matrilineal descent and it might have been supposed that it was due to a breakdown in the system. However, the researches of

[1] Montandon, *La Civilisation Ainou*, Payot, Paris, 1937, p. 135, summarizes the evidence for traces of the existence of matriarchy. This, however, is not convincing.

[2] A brief summary appears in *Man*, April 1937: 76.

[3] Munro gave no indication as to what he meant by the word 'family' in this context.

[4] This refers to the adoption of a girl so that she may worship the ancestresses in the adoptive mother's *huchi-ikir*. For the adoption of boys see p. 151, but no mention is made whether adopted boys adhere to the exogamy rules dependent on their true mothers or on their adoptive mothers.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

leges are shared. Moreover, the name is descriptive, and it is not clear whether the Ainu use it among themselves or merely gave it by way of definition in answer to investigation.

Premarital intercourse was prohibited; if such an offence occurred a conference (*charange*) was held and usually a penalty was imposed, often the confiscation of some family treasures. If there was no infringement of *kut* exogamy the couple were allowed to marry. Munro was told that, in the old days, if a married man seduced an unmarried girl it was considered a crime comparable to murder.

It will be seen that the following regulations, which Munro recorded and the Ainu believe were given to their ancestors with the instructions regarding the making and wearing of the *upshoro-kut*, are not all founded on matrilineal exogamy:

1. Kut exogamy in matrilineal descent: Munro did not record that matrilineal exogamy was limited in any particular way, but as he did not find a woman who could trace her descent beyond her great-grandmother, the *kut* prohibition is almost certainly restricted to the *matikir esap utar* described by Mr Sugiura.
2. The levirate, known as *matraie*, 'wife uplifting', was an established custom but is no longer considered obligatory. Mr Sugiura states that marriage with the younger brother's widow was prescribed, but forbidden with the elder brother's widow. Munro states that a widow had the right to live with her eldest son who would be responsible for her maintenance, and that sometimes a special house was built for her.
3. No man might marry two sisters; Munro was told that sisters having the same *kut* were regarded as one person. Polygyny was permitted, each wife having a separate house, but owing to the poverty of the Ainu it was not frequent and Munro does not refer to any examples known to him at the time of his investigation.[1]

[1] However, in a footnote on p. 128 Munro refers to the part played by a junior wife at the funeral of her child but makes no mention of her role in ancestor worship, nor whether the usual *kamui* were represented inside and outside the house of such a woman when a separate house was built for her.

Mr Watanabe states that there is no evidence for Ainu having more than one legitimate wife (*machi*) for whom ceremonies of betrothal and of marriage, with the accompanying *kamui nomi*, were performed. But concubines called 'small wife' (*pon machi*) were recognized. In former times the Japanese established trading posts in coastal areas, and Ainu would come to these for a season, where they would fish, hunt and trade with the Japanese. Such men might be accompanied by a 'small wife'. In any case, if a man kept a concubine he made a separate hut for her.

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4. It was forbidden for two brothers to marry two sisters, and the Ainu told Munro that the prohibition was enjoined by the *kut*. An old tradition states: '*Iri-guru, iri menoko, koro yakun utushte ekapne newa shomsan pure ne*', freely translated, 'Male blood relations with female blood relations co-wives is not custom'. It may be that this was motivated by the same idea underlying number 3. Mr Watanabe made a note at Otopuke that a very old woman told him of the same prohibition. (He recorded one case of infringement of this prohibition in another settlement.) She gave no reason but volunteered the information that a man may not marry his deceased wife's sister. Munro was also told that this marriage was formerly prohibited and, though not forbidden at the time of his investigation, it was still unpopular. The usual reason given, as in number 3, was that two sisters are one in the bond of the *kut*. These three prohibitions appear to be connected with the levirate, not with *kut* exogamy.

5. A man could not marry his mother's sister's daughter because of *kut* exogamy. But there was no prohibition against marriage with the father's brother's daughter nor with the cross cousin. However, Munro only recorded two cousin marriages and those were with cross cousins.

It was thought that it was permissible for a man or woman to marry his or her brother's child, but Munro never heard of an actual case.

Munro recorded 98 marriages[1] and their offspring, naming upwards of 350 people, all of whom were related or connected in some way by marriage. There were no infringements of the above rules in the Nibutani marriages. It was said that dire misfortune would follow the breach of matrilineal exogamy; in the old days it would have been punished by death. There was a tradition of a couple who had sinned in this way and who hid themselves in a deep gully where a stream afterwards sank into the ground and disappeared. A story was told to Munro of a couple who, over a century earlier, had settled near Nibutani but dared not disclose their identity because of their transgression. After a long period of isolation the elders took pity on them and allowed them to become members of the *kotan*. At the time of Munro's investigations it was customary for the parents of a couple who were matrilineally re-

[1] It is not clear whether these marriages were all between people living at the time of the investigation. It is probable that Munro's informants gave him the details of marriages occurring in both ascending and descending generations.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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organization due to modern conditions, but I wish to show that the Ainu as described by Munro have retained many of the religious beliefs and cults which had been associated with their old life as hunters and fishers. Munro did not synthesize the evidence he had observed for the ancestor cult; it was probable that the Ainu reticence on the subject prevented him from discussing the matter with the elders. However, I have been able to put together notes from his own observation which show not only the importance of ancestor worship but its foundation in territorial patrilineages.

In the esoteric form of worship to the *kamui*, they are addressed only by place-names—unfortunately, examples are not stated. It has been noted in Chapter VI that the spirit of an ancestor can only be approached by a direct descendant. At the new fire ceremony, preparatory to the occupation of a new house, if the householder is too young to pray to his ancestors and invite them to the new house, his father or his father's brother will perform this duty. If no direct descendant is available the prayer to the ancestors must be omitted.

Men who believe themselves to be descended from a common patrilineal ancestor have the same type of badge (*itokpa*) (see Chapters III and VII). This is not secret; it is worn on the headdress and is represented on certain other objects.[1] The badges are handed down from father to son, and if a boy is adopted he must be given the badge of his adoptive father. These badges represent, in highly stylised form, animal *kamui* who are believed to have rendered assistance to the ancestors. The same animal may be associated with several different *ekashi-ikir*, but there is no indication that there is any social or quasi-kinship bond between such groups.

Sapa-un-pe (literally thing on the head), a form of men's headgear, was indispensable for religious ceremonies, for special solicitations to good spirits and for protection against evil spirits. It was made of twisted shavings, strengthened by pieces of cloth and decorated with loops of brocade (see Pl. I, and Pl. XXXII, fig. 1).

[1] Mr Watanabe does not consider the badges worn on the headdress to be *itokpa*, but he does not state how they differ from them. He says that the Ainu recognize two kinds of *itokpa*: the *ekashi itokpa* to which Munro refers above, associated with patrilineal descent, and the *kamui itokpa*. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui itokpa* are specific to the *kamui* invoked, and are used only in the Kitami and Kushiro districts. However, it will be seen that the *kamui* to which he refers are indeed those associated with the ancestral cult.

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292 301 Badges were attached to the front of these headdresses, that of the bear being the most common. Others seen by Munro early in this century were those of the fox, eagle, falcon and grampus. Mr Watanabe states that at every Bear Ceremony new shavings were added to the headdress, each bunch contributing to the value of the whole. These headdresses were handed down from father to son.

778 782 422 For the celebration of the *pase ongami* of Metot-ush Kamui (one name for the bear *kamui*) in the House-Warming Ceremony, the winged libation wand with the ancestral mark of the householder is used. (See Chapter VII.) *Itokpa* are also cut on the winged libation wand used in connection with the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. Reference has been made in Chapter X to the *ekashi itokpa* cut on sticks carried by hunters, which served to identify their owners should they become lost. 184

114 778 782 422 532 [115] Munro worked in the Saru district as the Ainu there were less influenced by the Japanese way of life than in the northern districts. However, he considered that the northerners had retained some features of Ainu culture that were not present in the Saru district, and therefore he invited Rennuikesh Ekashi, whom he regarded as the most reliable elder in the north, to stay with him at Nibutani. Rennuikesh cut for him the signs used on certain *inau* stems, shown in Pl. V. These were not used in the south, and it [769] would seem that Rennuikesh did not know, or did not emphasize, that they were connected with the ancestor cult. However, Pl. IX, fig. 8, shows an *inau* with an *itokpa* cut on its stem. It is dedicated to Iworo-koro Ekashi. This epithet, which refers to Kim-un Kamui, the Bear God, may be translated 'Hunting-rights Territory-owning Ancestor'. Munro states that the title also applied to the wolf. This *inau* was only made in the north. Rennuikesh stated that there was also a sign composed of two deep curved cuts which represented a winding valley between two mountain crests; several elders claimed this as a special sign for their own village. Munro says: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent.' I will return to this later.

614 301 796 [601] It has been noted in Chapter VII that men having the same badge worship together at the *pase ongami* and recognize mutual obligations. (See also Chapter VII, footnote on p. 85.) Those who join in worship of Metot-ush Kamui address one another by kinship terms.

/768 cont./

844 853 [292] [298] When the mother has no nourishment for the child during an extended period of time her breasts are tied by means of a sling of soft cloth to prevent them from moving to and fro or from flopping down. They also smear the breasts with the white sap of a plant called to pe kara kina, that is, "a milk-giving grass." Women who possess insufficient nourishment are very rare among the Ainu, according to their own claims. Ordinarily the Ainu women have more milk than the child needs, and I have repeatedly seen women doing away with part of their nourishment or feeding two children with it.

Miscarriage.

843 I have heard from several Ainu men and women that miscarriages are very rare with them.

843 114 For two years (1903-1904) I myself closely observed all changes in the population on the eastern shore of Sakhalin Island and noted down two cases of miscarriage in 1903 (one of a 29-year old woman in the eighth month of pregnancy; another of a 24-year old woman in the sixth or seventh month of pregnancy. Both bore normal, living children one and one half years later). In 1904 I noted down one case of miscarriage (with a woman in the ninth month of pregnancy). In these [163] villages there were in the years 1903-1904 a total of 25 births, and 147-155 women capable of bearing children. Among the latter I count all women above the age of 15 and below 51.

843 164 177 The Ainu do not know that a miscarriage ensues if one of the parents has syphilis. One of the miscarriages mentioned above can be ascribed to this cause (the father was syphilitic).

I have no exact knowledge of conditions on the western shore of Sakhalin Island. It is possible that miscarriages are more frequent there since the inhabitants of those regions are exposed to syphilitic infection through Japanese workers who come to Sakhalin for fishing.

843 753 The Ainu themselves explain the causes of miscarriage in the following manner:

1. If the husband has an abscess on his penis which refuses to heal, this is not considered as a disease; as long as the man does not keep /769/ his defect a secret and tells his wife and

/773 cont./

841 After childbirth Ainu usually have no menses for a long
846 time since for an extended period they nurse their children
[853] themselves. But if /774/ a woman is not moderate in her sexual
[833] relations she will have menses after five months even if she nurses her child herself.

841 During menstruation Ainu women wear woven aprons which
297 they buy either from the Japanese or the Russians. In former
[439] years they used aprons of seal-skin for this purpose. These aprons are tied round the nude body, not in front, but in the back. In sitting position the blood drips onto the apron and thus protects the clothing from spots. Sometimes it happens that the blood drips onto the floor of the yurt or of the yard when the woman walks about, since Ainu women do not wear any kind of pants. I myself have repeatedly seen such stains, although the women seek to avoid as much as possible such an occurrence which they consider indecent.

841 Here one can see again the great difference between the
799 Ainu and the Gilyak in the relation of the family to women,
789 which I indicated earlier in describing childbirth among these tribes. The Ainu consider it harmless to look at the blood of a woman or even to tread on a blood spot. In fact the blood of menstruation is even considered a good talisman. If someone sees a drop of blood on the floor he should wipe it off with his finger and smear his chest with it. It is an excellent expedient that can help everyone to wealth since it exercises a favorable influence in financial matters. The blood of the woman on the chest of the man becomes a talisman which brings it about that all those who deal with him in financial affairs have to give in to him, so that he derives great advantage from it. Whoever should get to see an apron used during menstruation, which actually can happen only very rarely, since the woman carefully hide these aprons from the eyes of all, but especially of the men, should ask its owner to give him a small piece of it. This he should always carry with him since it is considered a powerful talisman in the struggle of existence.

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614 denoting upper-stream people living in Sanenkoro and *kotans* above it, and lower-stream people living in Chirokto and *kontans* below it, respectively. The term to denote the people of the middle course was not kept in memory by my informant Ushino. The first at least, it seems, indicates the extreme upstream *shine itokpa* group, but nothing definite can be known.

619 (18) The presence of a territorial group based on the unit of a river valley, already suggested by NATORI (NATORI, 1940), and TAKAKURA (TAKAKURA's oral information to IZUMI in IZUMI, 1951, p. 30), has been confirmed by IZUMI on his survey of the Saru River (IZUMI, 1951). That on the Saru as elsewhere the territorial group represented a kind of corporate group might be inferred from IZUMI's account of joint actions in time of disputes with other river groups, of joint ritual observance praying against tidal waves and landslides, and of repelling trespasses of other river members on their areas. At any rate little has been made clear about the relationship between this and various smaller territorial groups. Nor has the fact been ever noticed that the inhabitants of the larger river systems such as the Tokapchi, instead of forming a single river group, constituted more than one on the basis of each "river" as distinguished in the Ainu classification.

611 (19) Concerning the *Huchi Ikiru*.

An aged Tokapchi informant says: "A *shine huchi ikiru*, when three generations back, goes out of memory and little can be known about it".

A certain female informant was able to name 35 women of her *shine huchi ikiru* within a depth of six generations (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 209). Another woman is said to have as many as 20 living female relatives of her *huchi ikiru* (SEGAWA, 1951, p. 251).

611 It is assumed by SUGIURA that a *huchi ikiru* group was symbolized by one
292 and the same form of the *upshoru kut*, chastity belt (SUGIURA, 1951, pp. 3 and 21).
831 Doubt may be raised, however, as to whether so many different forms existed; in fact, the possibility is that some same forms, like some family names, might have found wide distribution beyond the sphere of a single kin group, in the present case, a *huchi ikiru* group.

Inherent difficulty has impeded any satisfactory investigation on the various forms of the *upshoru kut* and their relation with the *huchi ikiru*. SEGAWA, in her studies on Ainu beliefs about it and related Ainu ideas and attitudes, states as follows.

It is affirmed by every Ainu that there was slight difference in the braiding of cords attached to the *upshoru kut* or in their number according to different *shine huchi ikiru*. But it is unthinkable that so great a variety of forms as generally suggested could have existed. Some information has been

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obtained that difference in forms might correspond to different social status of the ancestry, different characteristics of the *kotan*, and different river courses and districts. It is also suggestive of the presence of a place of origin to each matrilineal ancestress and of difference in rank of each *huchi ikiru* line. At any rate, if *shine upshoru* relationship has perpetuated itself through centuries (meaning perhaps that the forms of *upshoru kut* have been handed down from generation to generation matrilineally), a very small variety of ancient *upshoru kut*, originated by a few ancestresses, must have come down ever spreading without people's knowing (SEGAWA, 1951, p. 69).

As is pointed out by SEGAWA, the secret nature of the *upshoru kut* barred female members themselves from a direct and actual knowledge of girdle forms worn by other members. It is noteworthy that actual identification of female members of a *shine upshoru* was made, not by different forms of the *upshoru kut*, but after all by tracing female forebears back along the matrilineal line, that is, the line of the *shine huchi ikiru*. In short, even if the members of a *shine huchi ikiru* shared one form of *upshoru kut*, it may not follow that bearers of one form belonged all to one *huchi ikiru* membership.

For forms, beliefs, myths and other ideas and practices relating to the *upshoru kut* see reports by KŌNO and NATORI (KŌNO, 1931; NATORI, 1945, pp. 91-112 and pp. 185-201). It should be also mentioned that MUNRO gives new important information of various girdles attributed to various *kamui* (MUNRO, 1962, pp. 142-3).

(20) The practice of avoidance in marriage, since it was more aversion than prohibition, was susceptible of evasion in compelling circumstances. If need be, man and woman of the category were enabled to marry by going through a ritual procedure: the woman concerned went through a ritual known as *upshoru kikiraye*, at which she changed her *upshoru kut*, the girdle she wore, made for her by a woman of her proper *huchi ikiru*, usually her grandmother or mother for another *upshoru kut* prepared by a woman of the other *huchi ikiru*. There is no evidence of her marriage then requiring any sanction of the whole *huchi ikiru* group. It seems that it could take place simply at her parents' discretion and with due ritual observance at their hands.

(21) They were usually her matrilineal close relatives such as her mother, sisters and/or daughters who were convenient to come to her. Only when they failed, any woman related to her by *huchi ikiru* kinship would be called instead. There also could be and actually were some women of the same *huchi ikiru* who knew one another only by their names but had never met together. SUGIURA reports an interesting case of a woman, Teki, from the Atsuga valley who married a man in a distant *kotan* in the Saru